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was enforced and that there was no pilfering.⁴⁷ Since these men were the only clan representatives sent to Ezo territory they came to have the authority of settling disputes between Japanese and Ezo which was the first step in the acquisition of political power over the tribes.⁴⁸

These regulations were no more than verbal instructions laying down certain rules. In the *Igen Zokuwa* after a narration of the abuses of *Ashinpe* (the atonement penalty practiced among the Ainu) this passage occurs: "In previous years many valuables were offered as *Ashinpe* but since the introduction of rules of penalty by the lord this is no longer practiced"⁴⁹—an indication of the scope of the Matsumae regulations. *Uimamu* was used to appease the Ainu but it was also useful as a measure of rule. Similarly *Omusha* came to lose its economic character. The *Ezo Sōshi* traces the change when it notes that *Omusha* lost its original friendliness whereby both parties patted each other and became a ceremony where the Ainu received officials who occupied seats on a higher level as guests of honor and the author interprets *Omusha* as "an event for entertaining honorable and noble guests." Since the Matsumae laid down these rules the right of punishment for transgression of them lay with the Matsumae. An example of this is the imprisonment of the chief Umushimute in 1693 on the charge that, the previous year, he had spread rumors of the western Ezo revolting at a gold mine in Haporo. Thus, as Hokkaidō became an exploited colony, so did the weight of Japanese rule increase and the Ezo not only lost power but, as will be discussed in a later chapter, their freedom was limited. On the other hand those Ainu who had become followers of the Matsumae gradually intermingled with the Japanese and received equality of treatment. At the time of the independence of the Matsumae clan the area wherein Japanese could reside ran from Kameda in the east to Kumaishi in the west, a territory which included resident Ainu. After the 1669 incident, and despite strict regulations to the contrary, the Japanese began to move past this boundary into more remote areas while, at the same time, the Ainu began to retreat into the interior. In 1550 the chief of the eastern Ezo lived in Shiriuchi but by 1704 there were no Ezo in this area and only a few native

⁴⁷ According to a report written in March 1785 and found in the *Hidaya Kyōki* contraband in the contract *Bashos* of Hiday, which were those at Akkeshi, Kiritappu and Kunashiri were, sea otter skin, bear liver, bear skin, eagle tails, seals, *eburiko* and *hotsuki* [ubakoi, *Macra Sachalinensis*]. These goods were handled exclusively by the Matsumae and the contract merchants could not trade in them. Transactions in them were conducted by the *Uwanoriyaku*.

⁴⁸ "Two officials accompanied the goods to Ezo. They were to see that no trouble arose between the trading parties. Also, in loading, the draft and a list of the freight was reported to these officials in writing after which the officials boarded and sail was raised." *Ezo Koku Shiki*.

⁴⁹ *SHS* 1: illustration No. 1.

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portant role prior to the eighteenth century in the development of the European colonial system. Although the *Basho* operators, were individuals operating on a small scale, they played a similar historical role for they were entrepreneurs who succeeded in colonial enterprise after feudal attempts had failed. Furthermore, just as the chartered companies had certain obligations (the payment of a portion of their annual product to the Royal Household) for which they were given certain privileges, so did the contractors oblige themselves to pay a stated amount to the *Chigyōnushi* for which they were given the right of monopoly at the *Basho*. Another point in common is that both chartered company and *Basho* operators were merchants backed up by feudal power. However, unlike the charter company, the *Basho* operators were not granted the power of protecting their own enterprise, only the name of the *Basho* and the fee being entered into the contract. Nevertheless, since the negotiations with the Ezo were left up to the contractors and since neither *Chigyōnushi* nor clan interfered, the contractor actually exercised some political control. In the Sōya, Akkeshi, and Kunashiri districts which were under direct clan control supervisors were sent with each vessel because, says the *Toyu Zakki*, "People from Matsumae would try to deceive the Ezo and start trouble. They were to see that this did not happen." Actually, the main duty of the clan officials was trade supervision. The *Ezo Sōshi* gives their duty as that of preparing those goods which were to be sent to the daimyō: "they would go to the *Basho*, trade for sea otter, hawk feathers and eagle tails which were to be offered to the central government at Edo, load these goods with those of the contractors and sail for home."

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The predominance exercised over the Ezo was confined to *Omusha*, trade for "light goods," the inspection of cargoes, the reading of instructions to chiefs at the *Basho*, and the settlement of disputes between Ezo and Japanese. Privately owned territory, which represented the major portion of Ezo, was never visited by these officials.⁵⁴ But just as the chartered companies expanded, improved, and dominated industry in the colonies so did the *Basho*. Just as the companies played an important role in preparing the colonies for the direct rule of the home government so did the *Basho*. Just as companies took advantage of their privileges and caused the spread of misery among the natives, so the *Basho*. Just as the home governments did not interfere with the companies either from intent or because there was nothing that could be done thus leaving the natives to their fate, so with the *Basho*. The *Basho*

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⁵⁴ It is said that the *Uwanoriyaku* were sent only to such territories as were directly controlled by the clan chief. This is not true. They were sent to all important areas and this may be checked by the fact that in Bunsei Nenkan Tōzai Ezochi Unjōkin Chō (Tax records of Eastern and Western Ezo during the Bunsei period) there are many *Basho* in West Ezo which are listed under "Uwanorikin." In later years no *Uwanori* were actually sent to these *Basho* but the tax was collected.

*698 [village headman]. But in most places the Ezo system was left unchanged. The exception was in areas where the authority of local officials had become so definite that it was necessary to establish new positions to govern effectively the Ezo of the area. Therefore, the titles of *Sō Otona*, *Waki Otona*, and *Sō Kosukai* were created in addition to the existing *Otona* and *Kosukai* and these posts were given to Ezo of noble birth. The *Sō Otona* was the leader of the Ezo within a *Basho*. To this post a person from the most powerful family was appointed. The orders of the government were delivered to the *Sō Otona* for the Ezo. The Ezo appealed to the *Sō Otona* those matters which could not be settled by an *Otona* and only such matters as could not be settled by the *Sō Otona* were brought before the officials.⁹ The *Sō Kosukai* had duties similar to those of the *Kosukai* of a village except that he was the *Kosukai* of a *Basho*. While a man's family background was considered in making appointments to this post because of the nature of his duties, it was given to a person with the ability to control his fellows. Another position established was that of *Miyagedori* [gift bearer] who was an ordinary native either physically strong or with a good conduct record. He acted as *Kosukai* for contractors or as guide for officials and travelers and he inspected the exchange of gifts.¹⁰ According to the *Ezo Miyage* this was a post next in rank to *Otona* and *Kosukai* and although the *Miyagedori* received equal treatment and gifts at an *Omusha* it seems that he had no duties similar to those of *Otona* or *Kosukai*. It is probable that this post was awarded to ordinary Ezo or to those who had retired from the position of *Otona* or *Kosukai* and those who held it received privileges equal to those of the other ranks.

4. APPENDIX

INSTRUCTIONS TO THE EZO, JUNE 16, 1799

*C48 At this meeting a package of tobacco and some sake shall be served to the Ezo and the interpreter will deliver the following instructions.

*175 1. The *Basho* concerned has been taken over by the Bakufu since May 5. Instructions given from that time by the officer placed in charge must be obeyed without delay.

2. It goes without saying that during the period of Bakufu management full respect is due all government officials whether stationed in Ezo or on tour.

The Ezo will obey the orders of managers, guards, and interpreters as they did during the reign of the Matsumae.

No petition shall be presented directly to government officials. It will not be accepted. Instructions from managers, interpreters, and guards are to be treated as instructions from officials. However, if there is any doubt concerning such orders, it may be brought to the attention of officials who, according to the issue, may take necessary steps.

It should be noted that it is very inconvenient not to understand Japanese since the interpreters may make mis-

⁹ Tarao Tadarō, *Chishima Tanken Jikki* (Karile Islands expedition reports), 73.

¹⁰ *Tsuishikari Sanshi* (History of Tsugaru village), 17-18.

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[92] prohibited there may be those who will have nothing to offer in atonement and therefore will escape punishment. Since there are bound to be disputes which will not be settled unless *Tsuchiuchi*, atonement, or some form of penalty is assessed, it is advised that such disputes be brought before a magistrate and the more serious ones be transferred to Edo for severe reprimand. During the winter when no officials are stationed in the countryside the *Otona*, *Waki Otona*, and *Kozukai* shall accept complaints and report on them as soon as possible when officials arrive in the spring at which time the complaints will be reviewed and proper action taken. Naturally, certain cases will arise from misunderstandings on the part of both parties and it should be noted that, once a case has been brought up publicly and the disputants summoned to official quarters, it will not be possible to settle it secretly.

There has also been a custom of challenging a person to argue over unreasonable matters and having the loser pay atonement. From now on anyone forced into such an argument will report to the officials and receive instructions and the same goes for situations wherein anyone is challenged by an Ezo from outside the *Basho*.

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177 5. There will arise the problem of how to deal with wrongdoers if the custom of *Tsugunai* is forbidden. The following should clear up any doubts on the matter. There is no written law here and all criminal matters are settled according to tradition. The Bakufu wants to educate these people and apply the Japanese pattern of life to this island. In Japan there are laws set up by authority. Murder is punished by death, adultery is punished by death, and theft is punished according to its seriousness—from beating and tattooing for a slight offense to weightier penalties for more serious offenses. There are other laws such as those which reward people, dutiful and obedient to parents, those friendly to relatives, those who are generous, benevolent, and hardworking. There are many other laws which it is impossible to illustrate and which will gradually be introduced on the island. In short, the reason for Bakufu administration is to establish various rules and laws in the hope that this island will be rid of its traditions and come to live like Japan. The *Otona* and *Kozukai* will be village officials as they are called in Japan and they will make every effort to govern their village successfully. They will encourage the people to work hard so that they will not encounter famine and the laborers must be accustomed to the ways of the mainland. This is to result in a great development of the island with the people peaceful and happy under the Bakufu. As the production of the island increases it is beyond the capacity of the Matsumae to handle the situation which is the reason central government officials have been sent to supervise. This territory will be handed back to the Matsumae when, in later years, laws have been set up and the traditions and customs have been altered to match those of Japan.

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[923] 6. Though it has been said that this land belongs to the Matsumae it must be remembered that all land in Japan belongs to the Bakufu including the Matsumae territory itself. The fact is that this island was so far away from Edo that it was merely given in trust to the Matsumae. Now recognizing the lack of government, the Bakufu is administering directly, developing this country and initiating laws and rules similar to those of Japan. It will teach agriculture to the people, encourage them to be diligent so they may be self-sufficient, reward people according to their work, and introduce the Japanese language and Japanese-style houses, and educate the people. Therefore, even after this land is given back to the trust of the Matsumae those rules and laws established by the government must be observed and not even the Matsumae may change the standards set up.

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the Order of 1799 great emphasis was laid on treating the Ezo benevolently and sincerely and in 1802 when magistrates, auditors, and inspectors were appointed they were pledged to give the utmost consideration in judicial procedures and to make sure that all merchants and their subordinates acted fairly.³

1. IMPROVEMENTS IN THE TRADE

The Bakufu's deep concern with national defense in Ezo was to center around appeasement of the natives. There were many ways in which the Ezo could be placated, but it was considered out of the question to make too radical a change or to give away goods at random, for not only were the finances of the Bakufu limited but it was feared that if the Ezo got used to receiving favors they would not work. So the first step was to correct the many evils of the trade so that not profit but benefit to the natives would be the main object of commerce. In this way the source of native discontent would be removed, the Ezo would have respect for the Japanese, and at the same time the dangers inherent in giving gifts at random would be avoided. Trade in the sense of aid was to be the policy and the Bakufu was to undertake such measures as direct operation of the trade, the circulation of currency, and the establishing of price lists.

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A. THE DIRECT OPERATION OF TRADE

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The commissioners had suggested that the merchants continue to handle the trade as usual but that government officials supervise all transactions. However, to let a group who would ignore everything but their profits continue to operate would, it was feared, result in the failure of Bakufu government. It was therefore decided that all trade would be handled by officials.

³ Part One of Pledge: (1) The Hakodate Magistrate has been assigned the position of manager and supervisor. Matters pertaining to the Bakufu shall hereafter be given primary consideration and all duties will be performed in compliance with the instructions of the Hakodate Magistrate. It should be particularly noted that all reports or information shall be presented to that Magistrate without the least hesitation. (2) There shall be no conspiracy with evil intent against the (Tokugawa) family, other lords or their subjects. (3) Laws heretofore proclaimed shall be observed and the same will be done with all laws and pledges to be enacted hereafter. (4) Secret information shall not be divulged. (5) Special precautions shall be taken against Christians. When a person belonging to that religion is found he will be reported to the Hakodate Magistrate after an immediate investigation. (6) The land being an estate of the Bakufu the officials will conduct themselves impartially, honestly and in an orderly fashion. (7) Punishment of the natives shall be meted out with extreme care and due consideration shall be given so that there is no decrease in production. Needless to say, taxes will be imposed fairly and with justice. Supplement: Merchants accompanying officials to Ezo will be strictly instructed not to mistreat the natives. Penalties for violation of this will be (omitted). 11 November 1802.

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Ibid., 889. Note that the written pledge found in Vol. 9 is almost the same as the one quoted above.

the *Kaishō*. Places for the evacuation of the children and the old are to be prepared beforehand so that no one may be taken prisoner and to eliminate any confusion.

7. In the past rice, tobacco, and sake have been brought in small amounts from Akkeshi *Basho* for trade. But ever since the Shogunate started to develop this area the people here have been diligent and the Shogunate has been generous enough to provide them with rice, sake, and tobacco in abundant amounts, as well as other necessities. The reason that many Japanese officials are stationed here is to protect this island from foreign countries and to educate the people. Appreciation is expected for these considerations and the people should work hard as ever under the direction of the contractor, manager, and guards. In comparison to the difficulties encountered in the past by the people of this island the fact that everyone now lives in abundance and without fear should be greatly appreciated and the benevolence of the Shogunate conveyed to posterity.

8. Naturally those engaged in fishing should labor diligently under the contractor, manager, and guards and preparations made for lean years by storing food in spare time.

9. Eagle tails shall be prepared, in winter, as has been done in the past and taken to the *Kaishō* when the *Otona* goes there for the New Year's greetings. Any other articles obtained shall first be inspected at the guardhouse after which they shall be presented to the *Kaishō* by the *Otona* when he calls on business.

Supplement: Since barter in furs and skins is prohibited to the guards, the *Otona* will inform all villages not to violate this prohibition.

10. As old customs are being revised, one should make one's language follow that of the guards.

11. Recently people with disheveled hair have been noticed. Everyone is on notice to dress his hair.

12. When young men reach a certain age, they shall take a wife. It is forbidden, even for *Otona*, to have many mistresses.

13. Since doctors are available, those falling ill shall immediately report to the *Kaishō* for treatment. Furthermore, it is the duty of *Otona* and *Kozukai* to see that all unfortunates, including the sick, the old without family, and the blind, are well taken care of and such cases, reported to the *Kaishō* will be taken care of by the Shogunate via the *Kaishō*.

14. If anyone, contractors, managers, guards, and even subjects at the guardhouse, acts in an unreasonable or unjust manner, such action is to be reported immediately and, in case there are matters which it is preferred not to report to the manager, they are to be reported directly to the guard posts through any villager capable of interpreting. Any other business which requires either immediate notice or privacy of handling may also be reported to the guard post as above.

15. All villagers are to maintain a coastal watch and report any unusual incident to the *Kaishō*. Such watch shall, from time to time, be conducted at night.

16. In accord with previous instructions no camp or other type of fire is permitted near *Kaishō* or guardhouses in the mountains. The *Otona* is to relay this order to all his people.

The regulations and instructions mentioned above are to be strictly observed and their meaning conveyed to all people.¹

It should be noted that the significance of *Omusha* changes from that of the previous period. Previously

¹ *Ezo Fuzoku Issen* 2: 1.

during which the Ainu, especially those in the interior regions, still led their social life of independence based on gathering activities, with a minimum of intercourse with Japanese through trading and fishing labour. In Tokapchi, for instance, which forms a main subject area for the present study and where Japanese immigration and settlement came later than in other districts, practically no Japanese immigrants were found in ca. 1874 (Hokkaido-chō, ed., 1937, Vol. 3, p. 299). It was in 1882-1883 when a small party of Japanese settlers called "Banseisha" came to settle near Obihiro on the middle Tokapchi to open up the interior part of the river valley (Note 10). In the upper Tokapchi surveyed by the author not a single Japanese settler was found even at the outset of the land allotment and the agricultural coaching programme launched in that area in 1886 (Notes 8-10). As a result the Tokapchi Ainu remained free in their gathering activities and from Japanese pressure and influence till a comparatively later period. Hunting of deer in the entire Tokapchi area was banned in 1875 to all except the local Ainu (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 437); salmon fishing in the upper Tokapchi, which had been prohibited in 1883, was released later to local natives alone (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 486).

According to the author's informants relating their own experiences, the contemporary social intercourse between the interior Tokapchi Ainu and Japanese was as follows. Conditions in the Azuma valley seems to have been much the same. Every year when it was spring, Japanese agents came by boat to the interior Ainu settlements in order to hire natives for employment at coastal fishing grounds. The selection of the persons to go was decided at the *ukosania*, assembly of the headman and house-heads of the local group. Such negotiations with Japanese were generally conducted by a representative called "ottena", an old title conferred by the feudal clan on native officers under the "basha" system and still used among the Ainu after its abolition by the Japanese Government. Sometimes the title "ottena" was held concurrently by the traditional headman himself, as at Nitmap and Pipaushi in Tokapchi (Note 23, N12 and P6); sometimes it was held by some one else, as at Moseushi (Note 23, M3 and M14). Ainus hired for labour at the fishing coasts were mostly young men but included some women. Work for women, such as drying of sea-tangles, was sometimes over in a relatively short period; but work for men, chiefly salmon and sardine fishing, usually lasted well into autumn. On return home these men had immediately to go hunting at their huts with fellow members (for examples see Note 41, Shiokoro's and Shurunke's families). In reward for their service at the fishing coasts they received wine and foodstuffs, such as rice and salt. In spring Japanese fur traders also came to their settlements to exchange deer and bear skins, bark clothes and other products for articles of clothing, such as cotton fabrics, articles of taste and food, such as wine, tobacco, rice and salt. The